UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

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Louis L. Mann
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A Letter from His Satanic Majesty, the Devil

By W. WALDEMAR W. ARGOW

When Religion Goes Radical

By R. E. WOLSELEY

A Dreyfus Case in the Making

By GEORGE STEWART

The Nine Hundredth Birthday of St. Anselm

By M. C. OTTO

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

A Man Crucified: A People Crucified*

"Easter and Passover are parallel for reasons more significant than the coincidence of the first Easter with the Jewish Passover. Our Passover is the Festval of our Freedom, commemorating not alone the release of a people from the yoke of bondage, but prophesying to men a hope of collective and individual freedom which can never wholly die out of the human heart. Easter is a Festival of Freedom, for from the Christian point of view it marks the release of man from the coils of mortality and propheseies that immortality as a quest and consecration which for Christians finds supreme witness in the Easter story and is indeed independent of place and circumstance.

"Passover and Easter are at one for the Passover celebrates the resurrection of a people and the Christian Easter proclaims the immortality of man. Egypt seemed destined to be the doom and death of Israel. Instead of that, Egypt witnessed the rebirth of Israel, its rebirth into freedom, even as Israel has known many Egypts and many Pharaohs and still lives. Easter is Christian witness to the truth that death is the prelude to life. Whatever we may think of the resurrection tale, whether it be a divine truth or a no less divine hope, immortality is become the lot of the Nazarene Jew as perhaps of none other that has walked upon earth.

"The German government has in its momentary madness decreed that all Jewish books are to be banned and burned and this Alexandrine feast is to take place on the tenth of May—a glorified reminder of the time, centuries ago, when the Romans burned *Rabbinus Talmud.* One hesitates to adduce Jewish books in the light of this German ban and proscription against them. And still, seeing we live in a land in which Old and New Testaments alike are cherished, one may cite the Book of Exodus which tells the immortal Passover tale and the Gospels of the New Testament which tell the triumphant Jesus story. 'Let my people go that they may serve me' demanded the immortal lawgiver and leader of his people of Pharaoh. It is not the failure of the Jew to serve God, though he has not always been wholly equal to his divine mission, which has brought down upon his head the hatred, the ill-will of them that are filled with the spirit of the Nazi or the Klan. It is his triumphant daring as a servant of God that has made him the object of hatred, of execration and of oceanic wrong.'"

"Today if I in a Jewish pulpit and on the Passover day adduce the Easter story, it is because I believe that my people will be crucified by Chris-

*An Easter-Passover Sermon preached in the Free Synagogue, New York City.

(*Continued on page* 147)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXI MONDAY, MAY 1, 1933 Number 9

SOLDIERS!

" . . . it came upon me freshly how the secret of uniform was to make a crowd solid, dignified, impersonal: to give it the singleness and tautness of an upstanding man. This death's livery which walled its bearers from ordinary life, was sign that they had sold their wills and bodies to the State: and contracted themselves into a service not the less abject for that its beginning was voluntary. Some of them had obeyed the instinct of lawlessness: some were hungry: others thirsted for glamour, for the supposed colour of a military life: but, of them all, those only received satisfaction who had sought to degrade themselves, for to the peace-eye they were below humanity. Only women with a lech were allured by those witnessing clothes; the soldiers' pay, not sustenance like a labourer's, but pocket-money, seemed most profitably spent when it let them drink sometimes and forget.

"Convicts had violence put upon them. Slaves might be free, if they could, in intention. But the soldier assigned his owner the twenty-four hours' use of his body; and sole conduct of his mind and passions. A convict had license to hate the rule which confined him, and all humanity outside, if he were greedy in hate: but the sulking soldier was a bad soldier; indeed no soldier. His affections must be hired pieces on the chess-board of the King."

—Thomas Edward Lawrence.

From "Revolt in the Desert" (page 317).

The "Akron," broken into pieces in Atlantic depths, may well be remembered as a symbol, or parable, of civilization, our civilization and every other. What happened to the "Akron"? We have no knowledge to justify any attempt on our part to answer this question, which experts will handle in precisely the way they always handle such questions. But it was only a few months ago that we were in Akron, Ohio, and visited the vast hangar where the latest airship, the "Macon," is under construction. It was a marvellous experience to see that intricate structure of tiny girders and wires—that enormous web of fine-spun steel in which men moved as tiny flies in a titanic web. Not, as regards the smallest fragment of that huge machine could we have given a judgment that was worth the notice of a school-boy. Yet as regards the whole did we have a judgment that was as clear as common sense —namely, that the inner complications of a structure so obviously overgrown were certain to create a strain which sooner or late would lead to collapse and destruction! This is exactly what happened, we believe, to the "Akron." The storm in which it was wrecked was nothing exceptional. But it contained just enough of pressure to break up a mechanism too big and too complex to sustain itself. All of which is a perfect parable of civilization! What happens to civilization? Why has each and every one of the civilizations in the past cracked up and disappeared? Bernard Shaw answered that question pretty effectively in his New York speech before the American Academy of Political Science. They all "collapsed," said Shaw, "because they had no standing within themselves, because of their own complications when they reached a certain point of social complexity due to large populations in large cities. Internal strains were set up within them which shattered them." It is obvious, continued Shaw, that "the symptoms" in our present-day experience "are the same." Our civilization, also, has become too large and intricate to sustain itself, and the process of collapse is beginning. In other words, the fate of the "Akron" is only a prophecy of the fate of the society which so proudly built it, *unless* . . . ! In this one word, "unless," is the secret of all our future. Can we stop in time? Can we reorder our life in terms of simplicity? Can we relieve this inner strain which is now our besetting weakness in our struggle to survive? No age before our own has ever done this. Spengler, in his stupendous survey of history and prophecy, declares that we are helpless. Perhaps the answer will be found in what we actually do, or do not do, with these monstrous airships which, with our sky-scrapers, are the crowning idiocy of an insane generation.

We propose to be perfectly frank and say that President Roosevelt has got us dizzy. We wonder if he hasn't got every one else dizzy, including not only the Congressmen, but himself and his advisers. In the welter of confusion that is flooding our mind these days, we are succeeding in keeping only a few ideas, or rather reactions, afloat. One is that the President is energetic, resourceful, courageous, and within the limitation of these qualities is showing a leadership for which the American people are properly grateful. Another is that the President, clearly seeing and acting upon emergency, has done first things first, and thus gained control of a situation which threatened to fall into utter chaos. Still another is that we think some of his constructive measures very bad, as for example the Farm Bill, and some of these same measures very good, as for example the Muscle Shoals reclamation proposal and the projected expenditures of vast sums of money on public works. We applaud the stock ex-

change and investment reforms, and deplore the postponement of banking reform and the abandonment of railroad reorganization. The approaching economic conferences, with representatives of foreign powers is magnificent. But what this all means, whether it means anything in terms of fundamental social planning, we do not know. So we are resolved to "wait and see." Roosevelt's statesmanship, like all statesmanship, must be judged ultimately by its results, and results will not be certainly evident for some time to come. Meanwhile, we propose to rejoice that we have a President who has ideas and an instinct for action. Also, we propose to keep our head, so far as may be possible in the present merry-go-round, and preserve our critical faculties intact. If there is anything disturbing us more just now than the doctrinaire radicals who think everything is wrong because Roosevelt does it, it is the sentimental and excited liberals who think everything is right because Roosevelt does it. It's a good sign that Congress has recovered its mind and tongue, and is beginning to function once again. Let America do the same!

Among the most pitiful things in the present depression are the many utterly futile reactions to the situation by those who have suffered the most. The farmers in the Middle West are over-loaded with debt. It is easy for some of us to blame the individual farmers for this. But those of us who see the situation as the result of a great historic process will hardly censure them. The farmers invested heavily in land; they bought speculatively; they assumed mortgages to an amount beyond all reason. So we say now, looking backward! But the farmer was no different from the banker who urged him to buy and almost forced upon him a loan. To indict the farmer would be to indict the entire nation. But now that the collapse has come, the farmer sees the savings of a lifetime swept away with the fall of prices. He borrowed $1,000 expecting to pay it back with 1000 bushels of wheat. And now he can't pay it back with 4000 bushels of wheat. As a result he is irritated, in fact angry; and fair-minded people are not inclined to blame him. But in his anger the farmer has struck out at anybody that he could hit. This is what the famous Holiday Association is,—the expression of angry men! Because of the provocation, we have great sympathy for the farmers. But spilling a few thousand gallons of milk by the roadside or preventing a farm sale now and then certainly is no solution of the agricultural problem. These acts are at bottom acts of violence, and, like all acts of violence, they turn the minds of people away from the real issue, which is a new economic order.

The present outrages of the Nazi regime in Germany, and the surging flood of protest against it, must not result in any renewal of the old hatred of the German people. This latest reign of terror is only reproducing the history of the classic Reign of Terror in France a century and a half ago, and the relation of the people to the twin horrors is the same. In France, it will be remembered, a moderate revolution displaced the Bourbon monarchy. Men like Mirabeau and Lafayette were in control of this movement, which kept order and established liberty. But the rest of Europe was hostile to the revolution. Pressure for the restoration of the royal house became more and more intense. The French people, sore beset within, saw themselves surrounded by enemies without. Soon invading armies began to appear upon the frontiers. With the result that the revolution was thrown into the hands of the extremists! Marat, Danton, Robespierre, and Napoleon were alike the children of the chaos created by Europe's refusal to cooperate with the new-born French Republic. Is this not a parallel of what has happened in Germany? After the loss of the War and the flight of the Kaiser, a republic was established at Weimar. Here was a chance for all of Europe to spring to the help of the democratic regime, and thus strengthen the hands of those who had destroyed the old in order the more effectually to build the new. But instead of following this wise policy, the Allied powers harried Germany and humiliated her. They loaded her with the guilt of the War and exacted the penalties thereof. They stripped her of territory and goods, and in the years of her bitter distress gave her no aid. The result was that the Republic grew steadily weaker, and an opposition of fanatical zeal and fury as steadily waxed stronger. As the pressure without increased, the explosive potency of revolt within likewise increased. It was like the Bourbon armies on the frontiers of old France. At last came Hitler, the Danton of our day! If there is anybody preeminently to blame for the present crisis, it is not the Germans at all, but rather the Allies who by their vengeful oppression of a defeated enemy created in the German mind that chaos of despair, humiliation and revolt which has spawned at last the horrors of the Nazi terror. We can understand the relief of the Germans at a recrudescence of nationalistic spirit which vindicates their sense of dignity and self-respect. At the moment they are so lifted up that they can tolerate the terror. Now is the time to denounce Hitler—and also to do belated justice to the German people! This dual policy will end a monster which never should have been born.

Trials, trials, trials, with the justice of the world itself on trial! One would think, with "the Tower of London prisoner" the center of interest in England for weeks, that Britain would have gone slow in the matter of indicting Russia for her arrest and trial of "the six Britons," as the English engineers are called,

after the pattern of vaudeville teams. Not that the spy convicted in London was innocent, nor the British engineers in Moscow guilty! But espionage is commonplace enough, it is going on all the time in every country of the world. Russia is of course especially exposed to such attack. What was there in the arrest of these men so unjust, so cruel, so tyrannical, even so unusual, that London should immediately fly off the handle, demand the engineers' release, and, denied this, sever trade relations? Believe nothing but the worst of the Bolsheviks still holds! Much the same observation applies here to America. This espionage case in Moscow, for no reason in the world other than rankest prejudice and hate, has apparently snuffed out the promising movement for recognition of Russia under the Roosevelt administration. But it would seem as though we might go slow, very slow indeed, in the matter of condemning the Soviets, with a Scottsboro case on our own hands. We can be sure that all the details of the Decatur trial were broadcasted all over Russia, and are therefore known to every factory worker, city dweller, and peasant throughout the land. Complaints about the engineers, well-founded or not, will make little impression upon minds that are familiar with what has happened to the Alabama Negro boys. The horrors of this case could hardly be matched, we surmise, in even the darkest corners of the earth. And now Tom Mooney emerges from his prison cell, with sixteen wasted years behind him, to prove again his innocence! It seems amazing that this panorama should begin to unroll again. But it is reward for unprecedented effort and devotion that another trial is to be held; and, with inevitable acquittal, perhaps even California may grant freedom to the nation's martyr. Justice! What is it, and how often is it done?

A measure of much of the Christianity still lingering in the world, even in high places, is found in the protest registered before the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions against the continuance of Mrs. Pearl T. Buck as a missionary in China. The ground of Mrs. Buck's offense, so we are told, is her article in the January issue of *Harper's Magazine* in which she referred to the doctrine that "the heathen" races are damned unless they hear the gospel, and called this belief part of "a magic religion," adding:

> I agree with the Chinese who feel that their people should be protected from such superstition.

From the orthodox point of view, of course, this statement of Mrs. Buck's is heresy. There is a certain terrible logic in the contention of that arch-Calvinist, J. Gresham Machen, that a person who believes that "the heathen" are not "damned"—i. e., may be saved—without the Christian gospel, is not fit to be a missionary in foreign lands. But Mrs. Buck, as is shown not merely by her *Harper's* article but also by her two world-famous novels, has caught the idea that religion has something to do with humanity. She evidently feels that, in the common stuff of human nature, there is much that is good and true and beautiful. Her idea is that men need not so much be converted as developed, and that they should grow into Christianity rather than have it imposed upon them. This sounds to us as though Mrs. Buck, whether a Christian woman or not, is certainly a civilized woman. But, of course, whether Christianity is consistent with civilization is still an open question! Our own conviction on the problem before the Board of Foreign Missions is simply this—that, having read "The Good Earth" and "Sons," we would entrust the spiritual welfare of Chinese men and women more confidently to the author of these books than to any Calvinistic theologian whom we chance to know.

A Letter from His Satanic Majesty, the Devil

Castle of Ignorance,
13 Terror Street,
Land of Shadows, Inferno.

Mr. Common Man,
7 Confidence Street,
Peace Loving Province.
Dear Sir:

I have had it in my mind for some time to write you a letter concerning the folly of good men. They have given me no end of trouble. The moment I feel the world is safe in my hands, then good people begin again to stir up new trouble for me. They are my bitterest enemies. I have tried to bribe, intimidate, threaten and even persecute them; but with little result. Unless I can convert them to my way of thinking my kingdom is doomed. Such a disaster, you will agree, can prove to be only a dismal tragedy for mankind. You know I have always considered myself the friend of men. Have I not helped them to fight back every bit of progress that would upset the quietness of stagnation? Have I not helped them crucify, burn and behead those men and women who sought to get men to disregard the age-old prejudices? Have I not helped powerful, greedy, lustful men to drive out the reformer when he tried to attack their methods of gouging widows and orphans? Have I not blessed and consecrated the weapons of influential men by which they won their political battles, thus giving them the victory of outraged human rights? Have I not helped some men to grow enormously rich through the sweat and blood of little children in textile mills and mines? Have I not done my best to keep the masses in ignorance, so that they would not become dissatisfied because of the exploitation by which my favored few have grown so mighty? Why then all this bitterness against me? Surely, I deserve some better treatment

at the hands of those whom I have so richly blessed.

Moreover, I have done my best to keep the flames of hatred burning brightly. You know that people are never so effective in doing my will as when they hate. Just now I have succeeded in rekindling the flame of hatred of the Jew. Of course, you know that the Jew is in a vast minority among the peoples of the world. But that does not matter. I always try to direct a people's attention away from the main issue to a fanciful one by getting them to hate a race or a group. In that they charge others with a guilt of which they know themselves to be secretly guilty. That kind of a scapegoat device creates a feeling in the accuser that they are in the right. And the more they outrage other people's rights the more they imagine themselves to be the Lord's anointed. Study the record of all the persecutions I have inspired, and you will discover that people imagine themselves to be most self-righteous when they hate one another. Just give me time, and I will sow the whole world with the seeds of hate, and then you will see a world bursting in flames.

Lest you forget, I want to remind you that November 11 is the anniversary of the end of my little "party." How the remembrances of the day on which it began cheers my heart! Little do you know how long, and how earnestly I had been planning for that little party, which lasted only four short years and three months. I say it was a little party, for I have been making plans to "throw" another party which in size, splendor and duration will make that other one seem like a Sunday School class picnic. You see, I never do anything hastily, or without long, thorough planning. I have found that if I let men and women think they are actually doing the planning, they work much harder and faster. It tickles their vanity; it appeals to their self-importance. Lest you forget, I want you to know that I have been working on the plans for my next party for many long years. I want no hitch in any of the arrangements. For when I finally press the button, I want the whole world instantly to blaze forth in a gorgeous fire lighted with the glow of human passions, human hatreds, human suspicions, human lusts. When that eventful day arrives, the parties of Nero, Caesar, Alexander and Napoleon will seem like a love affair of two spinsters, one blind, and the other armless.

But some things worry me greatly. I cannot understand why the common man and woman whom I have ever sought to befriend (as I told you before) refuse to help me with my plans. Have I not always thrown my parties for their benefit? Have they not gone away from each party with larger bank accounts, more lands, more wealth, more honor, more glory? How ungrateful these people are! What worries me still more is that the group of men and women who are trying to incite suspicion against me, are telling the masses I am not their friend. Some of this group you will find in politics, some in business, some in schools, some in churches, and even some of them are mothers. Think of it—mothers in the homes! The very ones who ought to be willing to do anything for the welfare and glory of their children. No matter what I say or do, these folks steadfastly refuse to believe my next party will be for their benefit. O, the poor, deluded fools! If they only knew me, they would love my scheme!

So that you may understand how worried I am about the success of my next party, I want to tell you what the common people are being taught by this group of poor benighted good people. First, they are telling them not to put their trust in armies and navies, because violence only begets violence, and that they who take the sword always perish by the sword. To prove their contention they single out my last party. I ask you, has not every nation become stronger in every way because of its army and navy? Have not all the world's greatest men been generals and men of war? They say the man of Nazareth, whom I helped murder, was a great man. How do they figure that out? He built no empire, conquered no armies, and won no free land for the people. If this dreamer had his way there would be no navies, no armies, no munition factories. I tell you it's absurd!

More foolish still are they for trying to change human nature. Have I not been with the common people for thousands of years? Don't I know more than anyone else that human nature cannot be changed? They say men can be changed, and can be taught to settle their inter-nation disputes in a peaceful, non-violent way, just as man was taught to settle his inter-man and inter-community disputes in a non-violent manner. They also say that the instinct to cooperate is deeper than the instinct to fight. Much as I disagree with their attempts to change human nature, I want to confess secretly that on a number of occasions in the past they seem to have succeeded. They changed man from a slave-loving to a slave-hating creature. and from a king-governed to a self-governed creature. The means by which they brought this about was universal, free education. O, how I hate universal education! Especially the kind they have in the public schools and universities of the United States. In those universities they take nothing for granted. They investigate everything. They snoop into every private and public tradition to see if it is humane and beneficial. Some way must be found to muzzle the professors, or else my party will be a dismal failure.

Now what worries me most of all is a group of men who call themselves preachers. (If I had any suspicion that you might perchance be of these I would tear up this letter at once.) These fellows are trying to create in the common people what they call a "Chris-

tian Conscience." Sometimes they call it a "Social Conscience," and sometimes an "International Mind." This is a sinister thing. You can't fight it with swords and bullets. It is invisible and works without visible weapons. It is a mighty power, and lays hold of common people in a terrific fashion. I have seen it send men to jail. Some have gone to the gallows, and some have been crucified because of it. I tell you that if this social conscience business gets much more support there will be no one at my next party except Nero and myself.

There are still other tendencies that cause me to worry a good deal. I have spent many sleepless nights during the past few years since my last party came to its all too-sudden close. Since then many of my closest friends have forsaken me, especially those who shared in every courtesy I could extend them. I must, therefore, make new friends. And since you are a young liberal, I think you can use your influence to acquaint me with many of the younger men of your generation who are looking for adventure. For you know I must have the support of the young men to make my next party a ghastly success.

Keep me informed as to the progress my plans are making for the next great bacchanalian holiday.

Yours truly,

LUCIFER SATAN.

P. S. Kindly give this letter as much publicity as is possible. L. S.

Per W. WALDEMAR W. ARGOW.

Jottings

Word has come from Germany that all Jewish books are to be publicly burned. We wonder if there are any exceptions to this ban of destruction upon Jewish literature. The New Testament, for example!

In Rome they rang all the bells when Easter Day came in. We did the same, in many towns and villages, when beer came in. Some difference!

In Massachusetts, beer cannot be sold to persons under 21 years of age. But why, if beer is legal? Why, if beer is non-intoxicating? Why, if beer is nutritious, wholesome, a genuine food? And is nobody under 21 to enjoy "personal liberty" in this country?

Speaking of beer, we advise our readers to study the quarter-page and half-page beer ads in the daily press these days, and to ask themselves if it is not now pretty evident that the newspapers had a reason for using their utmost endeavors to break down Prohibition.

"Nazi" and "nasty"! These two words are not so far apart in sound—and in meaning.

If We Were a Newspaper Editor: (3) *We would send a trusted correspondent to India and set the world on fire with the stories of what the Indian nationalists are suffering at the hands of their British rulers.*

J. H. H.

When Religion Goes Radical

Ohio State University had its Herbert Miller, but with characteristic middle western keenness for rivalry, Northwestern University now has its James M. Yard, and has begun to gain for itself much the same sort of notoriety that accrued to its Ohio rival.

The story of the dismissal of "Jim" Yard is symptomatic and only an indication of what will happen in greater intensity when the present economic dissatisfaction manifests itself more and more in the ranks of colleges and universities.

It is a tale so complicated by absentee university presidents, American Legion "spider web" charts, expiring endowments, and mixed interpretations of religious activity that it is not so clear cut a case as was the Miller incident last year.

Dr. Yard, widely known throughout the country to liberals and radicals but especially among the more radically inclined church leaders as well as students of the Oriental situation, is a mild-mannered, affable, and international-minded former Methodist missionary who spent many years in China connected with the West China University.

He came to Northwestern five years ago to become director of religious activities, with an office on the Evanston, Illinois, campus of the university. His job was financed by a wealthy Chicago publisher. He was received on the campus of the fashionable university with no great show of enthusiasm except from such logical supporters as Dr. Ernest Fremont Tittle, the most outspoken and courageous Methodist clergyman in the land, whose church is but a few blocks from the Northwestern campus, and Dean Raymond A. Kent, now president of Louisville University. The Northwestern authorities, as might be imagined, gave Dr. Yard physical quarters not even equal to those of the naval unit of the R. O. T. C., much less the athletic department.

Dr. Yard's contract was renewed in 1930 for a three-year period through the efforts of a few supporters on the board of trustees, which is loaded with Chicago's wealthiest capturers of industry.

He continued his work of guiding the university religious activities by bringing to the chapel services as speakers such men as Reinhold Neibuhr, Sherwood Eddy, Kirby Page, George A. Coe, and the Bishop of Exeter. He performed the usual pastoral duty of calling on the sick in the university infirmary, held vesper services, and encouraged students to conduct forums on political and economic questions or to go off campus to week-end retreats where they might discuss present-day problems with Professor Paul Douglas, Norman Thomas, Paul Blanshard, and other diagnosticians of our social ills.

When the depression set in one of the logical results, besides the disemploying of millions and the starvation of many others, was the revival of the post-war reign of terror against radicals of all shades. Evanston, a suburb of Chicago with about 65,000 inhabitants, many of whom are Chicago business men, soon revealed who were the local equivalents of Hamilton Fish, Matthew Woll, and Ralph Easley. These began to organize for attack on the "subversive citizens," almost always designated with the word Communist. Dr. Yard, not only because he encouraged an interest in socialization of wealth among Northwestern students, but because he allowed his daughter to associate with men of African descent and did not reprimand Y. W. C. A. maidens who smoked, was naturally an object of attack, as were four other Evanstonians of national prominence: Dr. Tittle, Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch, Professor A. J. Todd, and another minister, Dr. Hugh Elmer Brown, a Congregationalist.

The attacks came from unofficial groups of the American Legion, a new organization of reactionaries named the Defenders of America, and, of course, the more extreme elements in the local chapter of the D. A. R. They reached a peak last spring, when public meetings were held in Evanston and other society communities of the North Shore. These meetings were designed to tell the "truth" to the innocent residents.

Hot weather setting in, and some of the leaders of the attack going off to China to gain more information about the perfidy of the U. S. S. R., Dr. Yard was given a period of rest during the summer. But the assaults on him began again last winter, particularly after the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee held a meeting in Evanston at which Carl Haessler, managing editor of the Federated Press, atheist, and conscientious objector, was one of the speakers.

As a result, what is probably the newest super-patriotic organization of national scope was caused to thrive in Evanston—the Paul Revere Society. Simultaneously came the now famous announcement from the Americanization committee of the Illinois department of the American Legion. It was compiled from the letter heads of miscellaneous organizations, such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, People's Lobby, League for Industrial Democracy, and even the board of temperance and public morals of the Methodist church. It listed the familiar subversives: Miss Jane Addams, Professor Robert Morss Lovett, Norman Thomas, William Z. Foster, and dozens of others. Dr. Yard, was, of course, included.

A few days later, on February 8, announcement was made that Dr. Yard's contract would not be renewed for the 1933-34 academic year. He was advised of this decision through a letter from President Walter Dill Scott of Northwestern, following a meeting of the board of trustees. The letter gave no explanation of wherein his work had been unsatisfactory or unsuccessful, although it labeled it as so. The decision overtly was based on the report of the council of religion, whose student members wished Dr. Yard to remain, but not all of whose faculty members concurred, the dissenters declaring, however, that no one could do any more than Dr. Yard had done.

In President Scott's absence on a tour of the southwest, begun at the time of the dismissal, his secretary has replied to a letter of protest by saying that Scott would not "accept praise or criticism based on misunderstanding," implying that the Legion and other attacks had had no weight in the decision. This is superficially substantiated by the fact that other faculty members of almost equally outspoken economic and political views are not molested. Yet these others do not carry their principles, particularly that of race equality, so clearly into their daily lives as does Dr. Yard.

One of the reasons given for the "release," as all the newspapers tactfully phrased it, was the lack of finances.

Northwestern has a student body on its Chicago and Evanston campuses of about 10,000. It recently opened a million dollar library building. Well salaried football experts are still retained on the coaching staff. Various new courses have been added to the curriculum, one being concerned with the income tax. Religious activities, it seems, might be financed if the administration had any keen desire to finance them. Possibly the activities of Uldine Utley or the Buchmanites or some other evangelists who plead that each of us must be good so as to bring about a good world might be welcome. Not so welcome is a religious leader who suggests that man might be better in an economic system which does not often make it impossible for him to live honestly.

Super-patriots have praised the university for its action, as might be expected, and radicals, with equal logic, are condemning it. There is a mild student protest afoot, but the usual apathy so characteristic of large colleges patronized primarily by children of the better off is much more evident.

The racketeers in patriotism are making the most of the incident, just as they did at Columbus. Thus if the decision of the university was in reality based on finances or conviction that Dr. Yard was incompetent, for which there is no proof offered, it has played into the hands of the professional patriots, who are out to "get" the jobs of other men in the community.

There is every reason to believe, even though documentary proof will probably never be available, that the decision of the board of trustees and of some faculty members was strongly influenced by the attacks on Dr. Yard by conservatives.

After all, conservative trustees and conservative prospective donors are more difficult to offend than liberals, few of whom are economically in a position to be of use to the university.

R. E. Wolseley.

A Dreyfus Case in the Making

The sulphurous fumes from Latin America's great volcanoes seem to have infected the temperament of her people. Revolutions have been epidemic since the days of the Conquistadores. Until the last crop of revolutions, civil war in Latin America was due to personal animosities or ambitions. The civil strife of the last two years, however, has had an entirely different background.

Following the Great War, capital in Western Europe and North America sought an outlet in every sort of speculative enterprise. One of the most tempting plums was loans to South American governments. These loans were many of them made under persuasion and pressure by Northern bankers. A large part of the moneys thus received was wasted on non-income-producing projects and no little of it went into graft. Following the world depression, responsible elements in the population awoke to find their nations hopelessly in debt and with little in the shape of railways, ports or manufacturing to account for the hundreds of millions of dollars which had been borrowed and for which they were legally responsible. The result was civil war based upon the economic situation. Every government in South America has been overthrown at least once in the last two years and many several times, with the exception of Uruguay.

In no nation has the feeling been more intense and the provocation more bitter than in Peru. When the Leguia régime fell some two years ago, its downfall was due not only to the tyranny of its leaders and their abuse of power in every department of the Government, but more especially to the waste of borrowed money.

Leguia himself was an egotist to the degree of megalomania. His speeches to the people sounded like the ravings of O'Neill's "Emperor Jones." Toward the end of the year 1931 large groups of sober citizens in every party rose up and drove him from the presidential office.

The Civilista Party—the lineal descendant of the old Civil War Party organized in 1879 by Manuel Pardo—put forward Colonel Sanchez Cerro for the presidency and elected him. The Governmental opposition was the Partido Aprista Peruano, which numbered over 200,000 members. In the elections at the close of 1931 it mustered 110,000 votes and would have mustered more if many of the ballots had not been declared invalid by the National Bureau of Elections.

The leader of the Apristas was Victor Raul Haya de la Torre. This young teacher in his thought and experience had boxed the whole compass of social theory. He is the son of one of the oldest and most distinguished families of the nation and early became interested in the social questions of his native land. His family, dreading the consequences of having a radical in their midst, cast him off, and for months he lived on the edge of starvation. The experience of hunger caused him to dedicate his life to the underprivileged orders of Peru. He immediately set about building himself up physically and morally for the sharp road which led into the future. He must be able to stand gruelling campaigns and his life must be an open book, an example to the students and the workmen who were to follow his leadership.

At the start of his career Haya de la Torre's thinking was deeply tinctured by the anti-clericalism and irreligion of the young intellectuals of his class. "Every time I pronounce the word, God, it nauseates in my mouth," he said to a friend in his early student days at Lima. Later, he discovered in the Old Testament and in the teachings of Jesus severer accusations against oppression and wrongdoing than lay upon the lips of his contemporaries. From then on he saw that it was possible to have a direct and practical connection between religion and ethics as present forces in society.

While he was President of the Federation of Peruvian Students in the years 1919 to 1923 he carried on social and educational work in the slums of Lima and in outlying districts. To this labor he rallied scores of eager young men and women who taught reading and writing, hygiene and civics to their underprivileged countrymen. Their labors led them among the Indians of the Andes, who began to see at last a group who would take an interest in them. These undergraduates through demonstration and actual rioting prevented the consecration of Peru to the effigy of the Sacred Heart, a political move by which Leguia sought to win favor with powerful Catholic elements in the citizenry. Fearing any new, widespread social movement and angered by the defeat of his plans, President Leguia laid heavy hands upon the leaders of the Federation in October of 1923 and expelled many of them from the country.

For eight years Haya de la Torre wandered in exile, studying economics and politics in many countries. Everywhere he went he made friends. In intellectual circles he became one of the chief interpreters of Latin American problems and hopes. In 1924 he entered Russia upon the invitation of Trotsky and had an unusual opportunity to observe conditions and technique in the Red State.

"What I saw," he said, "cured me of Communism forever." In his judgment Latin America needed something quite different from the system inaugurated by the Bolsheviks. Neither did he sympathize with the atheistic practices in Russia and the persecutions of the priesthood.

Leaving the domain of the Soviets in broken health he spent several months in a sanatorium in Switzerland to regain his strength. Later he journeyed to England and studied for a period in the London School of Economics and Ruskin College, Oxford. During his sojourn in England he made the acquaintance of many of the leading men and women of the British Labor Party. Their methods and philosophy of government made a deep impression upon him. At the same time he was influenced in his ideals by the Chinese Kuo-ming-tang.

In 1928 he visited the United States, Mexico, and the countries of Central America. While in Mexico he was invited to a banquet at which the Soviet Minister and he were speakers. The Red diplomat said:

I consider that our social organization in Russia would be the ideal solution of the Latin-American problem. I see, however, one great difficulty in the way of its introduction: the innate mysticism of the people. If only that could be eradicated, the implantation of Sovietism would be a simple matter.

To these remarks de la Torre replied when it came his turn to speak:

How dare you, a foreigner, suggest that we eliminate from the life of this Continent that mystic sentiment which is our greatest asset for the future? Understand, sir, that there are men who propose integrating that sentiment into the coming social revolution in Latin America.

American officers in the Panama Canal Zone ar-

rested de la Torre and deported him to Germany. There, amid great poverty and suffering, he corresponded with Peruvian exiles in Europe and Latin America and organized the *Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana,* popularly known as the Apra. During this period he supported himself by teaching and writing articles.

The Aprista Party rejects both Communism and Fascism, but in its program and thought does not flinch from addressing itself to the whole category of economic injustices, legal disabilities and governmental abuse. In regard to religion, the Aprista Party favors the Church insofar as it can be a center of creative and purified life, but stands for the separation of church and state and the limitation of powerful, parasitic Orders. It is altogether probable that should it come into power, the Peruvian Catholic establishment might separate from Rome. There is little doubt that a purified and independent Catholic Church, free from politics, addressing itself to the spiritual needs of all classes of the population, would be a great national blessing.

Haya de la Torre entered upon his labors as a politician with no illusions about the fickleness of the South American population. Neither was he blind to that quality which a Mexican writer has called their "bureaucratic cannibalism"—the passion to hold office. He also saw realistically the failure of Latin Americans to admire a contemporary and their proneness to eulogize the dead. In an article in a Mexican journal entitled, "The Cruelty of South America," de la Torre called attention to the fact that in these lands as soon as a man achieves high place he is attacked by jealous rivals anxious to drag him down. Once he is dead he is given every honor. He remarked that this fact was brought home to him by a German sociologist who said,

> You South Americans don't respect anything in others; only the dead are safe in Latin America.

Because of this trait, the German explained, there exists what amounts to a cult of the dead in these countries. Cemeteries are show places with millions of pesos expended on carved marble. The population celebrates with short memory of their black deeds, the virtues of those who are gone. The sociologist concluded: "While they are alive they are cruelly torn to pieces. When they die they are superstitiously respected."

During the eight years of de la Torre's exile conditions in Peru had gone from bad to worse. Young men and women and numbers of older people who were growing restive under Leguia's unethical government were seeking a man to follow. In this young teacher of liberal views, who had grown in popularity because of his forthright speaking and manifest honesty, the youth of Peru found a voice and a champion abreast of the best liberal political thought in Europe and North America. Haya de la Torre introduced a new method in Peruvian political campaigns. Employing the aeroplane, he journeyed throughout the land, speaking to every section of the people, answering their queries and promising a new deal. Probably no candidate in the history of the nation had seen and spoken directly to as many of its citizens. The people responded to his personality, his ideas, the promise of a new life for the nation. But in spite of all efforts the new Party was unable to defeat the Civilista candidate, Colonel Sanchez Cerro.

Following the usual course in democratic countries, the Apristas immediately began exercising their legal rights both in the press and in Parliament to oppose certain parts of the Civilista program to which they objected. Thereupon, Sanchez Cerro reverted to the worst features of turbulent periods in Peruvian history and set about suppressing all opponents. To this end he employed every legal and illegal measure within his power, without regard to the fact that he himself had recently overthrown Leguia for the very practices which he put into play.

Some two dozen Aprista Parliamentary representatives were deported, notwithstanding their Constitutional legislative immunity. Sanchez Cerro's henchmen actually arrested these individuals in the Congress building, in violation of the Constitution.

Ever since December, 1931, a state of tension has existed throughout Peru. Sanchez Cerro is virtually a Dictator. Thousands of outraged citizens are boycotted, persecuted, and many hundreds imprisoned for asserting their political beliefs.

In common with all governments of South America the blanket accusation employed by Peruvian *agents provocateur* and Government prosecutors which seems to be most potent is that the accused is a Communist. Such an accusation, whether true or false, seems to excuse the Government for any type of tyranny or illegal action.

On the sixth of May, 1932, Haya de la Torre was arrested. The gravamen of the charge against him consisted of certain letters which he had written to a friend in Bolivia during 1929, while de la Torre was living in Berlin. In these messages mention was made of a cabal to overthrow Leguia. This the Sanchez Cerro group considers to be treason—an interesting phenomenon in view of the fact that they were plotting to do the same thing at the same moment! Unable to frame any definite and accurate charges against Haya de la Torre, all sorts of trivial accusations were piled up against him. Finally, unable to construct a case against him under the Constitution, Sanchez Cerro took matters into his own hands and applied the Emergency Law without the approval of Congress—a simple act of dictatorship towards a political enemy.

Since then the trial and imprisonment of Haya de la Torre has become a *cause célèbre* and might indeed become a South American Dreyfus affair. His picture has appeared repeatedly in every illustrated paper south of Panama. Articles about him appear almost daily in journals and periodicals, especially in those which incline to a left orientation.

The Aprista leader has been placed in a large prison in the center of Lima, in solitary confinement most of the time and at other times herded in a large room with other prisoners, without adequate food, medical attendance or sanitary arrangements. No regard whatsoever has been given to his character or his past, or to the time-honored fact that political prisoners in almost every civilized country are not placed in the category of common felons. Although he has been officially prosecuted by the State, he has been disallowed the elemental right to see his own attorneys. At times when he has been ill he has not been allowed proper medical attention, but has been forced to submit to the treatment of the prison doctor who is, as perforce he must be, an advocate of the existing Sanchez Cerro Government alone. For six and a half months no member of de la Torre's family has been allowed to visit him. The knowledge of these facts has caused wide-

spread unrest and hatred against the existing régime.

One result of the popular feeling against Sanchez Cerro's Government for its oppressive measures towards the Aprista Party and its leader was the abortive revolt in the north of Peru at Trujillo in July of 1932, in which over five hundred people lost their lives. In spite of the fact that Haya de la Torre had been in prison in solitary confinement for two months previous to the event, the Court-Martial which investigated the affair blamed him as the instigator. Although the insurrectionists were his sympathizers, no proof has been adduced that he was in any way connected with the outbreak.

These latter accusations and the continued imprisonment of the head of the Aprista Party drew forth widespread protestations toward the end of the summer. Professional and learned societies, and even governments in Latin America asked Sanchez Cerro and his group to give guarantees for the life of Haya de la Torre, urging clemency and mercy toward a man who at worst could be only an opponent of the present Government, a right conceded by all civilized states to any of its citizens. The Congresses of Colombia, Costa Rica, the Argentine, Ecuador, Uruguay, and the Government of Spain sent communications to the Government at Lima asking that the life of de la Torre be respected. In reply to the representatives of these foreign groups and governments Dr. Revilla, President of the Peruvian Congress, telegraphed the Argentine Senate to the effect that Haya de la Torre was under the jurisdiction of the civil courts and that the national Government therefore had nothing to do with a matter which was by strict interpretation within the province of these courts. As a consequence of this evasive attitude, which illustrates the illegal and dishonest nature of the persecution, the Aprista leader continues to rot in prison month after month.

Both de la Torre's friends and his attorneys have attempted to secure his liberty under bond, but to no avail. Although his Judge has asked that he be relieved from the penalty of solitary confinement the Government officers have refused to obey the order, and without any sentence to that effect he is kept in cells provided for murderers of the first degree.

For two months the Aprista leader was kept in utter darkness, a condition which brought on serious eye trouble. When this penalty was removed he was prohibited from reading books and magazines, the only resource left to a solitary man languishing in jail. In a desperate condition, he determined upon a hunger strike to force Carrasco, Director of the Prison, to lighten his punishment. For seven days he lay without eating while telegrams poured in from many sections of the world. Messages came from the League of the Rights of Man, Albert Einstein, Georges Duhamel, Harold J. Laski, Ortega Y. Gassett, Dr. Gregorio Marañon, Dr. R. R. Marett, Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, Manuel Ugarte, Barrett Brown, Principal of Ruskin College, Oxford, Gabriela Mistral, the distinguished poetess, Don Miguel de Unamuno, the famous Spanish philosopher, Waldo Frank, Romain Rolland, and scores of other distinguished leaders of thought in many lands. Realizing that his case could not be hid from the eyes of interested parties all over the world, the Government finally yielded and allowed him to read.

The condition of the members of the Aprista Party is grave in the extreme. Not only are they not allowed to make a decent and orderly Governmental opposition, but any person known to be an Aprista is discharged from Governmental posts and almost every employer in Peru is afraid to give work to known members of that Party. Scores have been banished to uninhabitable forest regions and to the Guano Islands along the coast. Prisons are overflowing with political prisoners. Such medieval oppression is rapidly forming the background for a first-grade social and political eruption. Week by week the pressure is rising. Sooner or later the molten lava of public opinion will discover a weakness in the Sanchez Cerro régime which will blow it into bits and Peru will enter another period of her dolorous history of civil strife, broken only here and there by wise and just governments.

GEORGE STEWART.

The Workers

Who are the workers? Why not we
Who are telling the world what ought to be—
Pick and shovel and diving bell
Down to the depths of darkest hell—
Dig and delve through ooze and mire
Till we come to the source of a buried fire.
Each must enter the pit alone,
Each must tunnel his way through stone.
When we are workers we shall know
The feel of hell in those depths below.
When we are workers we shall see
What sort of a world this ought to be.
Down in the pit the secret lies—
Up from the pit the truth will rise.
Who are the workers? Why not we
Who are telling the world what ought to be—
Who prate of pressure and persuasion
To save the life of our palsied nation—
Who is the leader? It is he
Who dives down deepest under the sea.
What is The Way that must be trod?
The Way has been marked by sons of God:
Buddha and Christ and the saint Gandhi
With beggar-bowl, cross, and satyagrahi.
These point The Way that leads to the pit—
Who has the courage to follow it?

FLORA WHITE.

On a Biblical Prophecy

It is told by Saint Mark
How one came to Jesus
From out of the tombs
Where the dead men lay:
One harried by fiends,
That cursed the restorer
And struggled and howled
Against his healing.

Then spoke Jesus mildly
To the torturing devils:
"How are you named
That possess this man
And curse me who seek
To deliver him from you?"

And the devils answered:
"Our name is Legion."

So Jesus cast them
Into swine's bodies,
And they rushed down madly
Into the sea.

Saint Mark told the story;
But failed to mention
(As is now apparent)
That the tale was prophetic.

MIRIAM ALLEN DE FORD.

The Nine Hundredth Birthday of Saint Anselm

There is a town called Canterbury where the living seem dead and the dead alive. The service in the famous Cathedral—if I heard a representative one—is a thin echo of something once sonorous and the discourse is as lifeless as a smoked herring. But heroic persons like St. Anselm and Thomas à Becket, who ended their labors many centuries ago and whose bones, it is said, lie under the stones before one's eyes, walk with one down the aisles and far out into the countryside.

It happens that the nine hundredth anniversary of St. Anselm's birth is upon us. He was born in Aosta, on the Italian side of the Alps, April 21, 1033. According to the English historian Green, whom all of us used to read, Anselm grew to manhood "in the quiet solitude of his mountain-valley, a tenderhearted poet-dreamer, with a soul pure as the Alpine snows above him, and an intelligence keen and clear as the mountain air." From his childhood he experienced a lively sense of the nearness of heaven and very early in his youth he found the meaning of human existence in communion with God. The secular life of the time was extraordinarily agitated, brutal, and full of strife; in common with thousands of others, Anselm wished to step out of it altogether, and to give himself completely to the studious and pious service of God. Opposed in his determination to take the cowl by his high-spirited, worldly father, although aided it seems, by his mother, the project was periodically postponed. "Indulgence in the pleasures of youth," we are told, "then diverted him from more serious causes and called down upon him, after the restraining influences of his mother had been withdrawn by her death, the undiscriminating indignation of his father." So it came about that in his early twenties he turned his back upon home and kindred. With a few necessities loaded on a donkey and accompanied by a simple attendant, he set out to cross the Alps over the pass of the Great St. Bernard. He was headed toward the most famous school in Christendom, the Abbey at Bec, in Normandy, drawn by the fame of his great countryman, Laufranc of Pavia, who was afterwards to become Archbishop of Canterbury and chief adviser of William the Conqueror.

Anselm was professed in the monastery of Bec when he was twenty-seven. He soon demonstrated himself to be Laufranc's ablest pupil and shortly became his successor. He remained at Bec as monk, Prior, and Abbot until he was sixty. Then, against his will, but in accordance with what he conceived to be his duty, he became the successor of Laufranc as Archbishop of Canterbury, a primacy which William Rufus had kept vacant in order to use its revenues and which he now filled because he was terrified by a sickness which he feared might be mortal.

From this time onwards, says C. C. J. Webb, "his life was one long struggle in defense of Ecclesiastical rights and liberties against the masterful sons of the Conqueror." The controversy was outwardly one over investitures, a quarrel which is no longer vital; but it was inwardly a question of the final authority over men's lives, a question which does not grow old, since there are always new oppressors and new oppressed. Thoughtful people in those days often sided with Rome, even though they were aware that the aims of the Roman Church were not above reproach, because they could see no other way of protecting a higher ideal of life against the relentless encroachment of violence, sensuality, and ruthless hunger for worldly power. St. Anselm was not only as Webb calls him, "the greatest thinker that ever adorned the throne of Canterbury," and "one of the two greatest metaphysicians of England," David Hume being the other; he was a profound stimulator of the spirit of freedom. "His obstinate loyalty to the Roman See," as Green says, "stood to him, as to most of the nobler spirits of his age in this part of the world, for the ideal of an authority not local but universal, based not on force but on the moral law of God."

Loyalty to this spiritual ideal resulted for Anselm in a prolonged exile, which only ended, and then temporarily, with the death of William Rufus and the accession of Henry I. It was soon renewed under the new king. At last an agreement was reached and the venerable Archbishop returned to Canterbury, died in his cathedral city, and was buried in the cathedral church, next to the tomb of his master, Laufranc, at the age of 76, in the year 1109.

Some six hundred and forty years later, Thomas Herring, then Archbishop of Canterbury (C. C. J. Webb quotes the incident from a historical manuscript) was astonished at the proposal of the Minister of Sardinia to the Court of St. James "that (for a consideration) the remains of St. Anselm should be removed from Canterbury to his native land of Piedmont." He was astonished because he could not enter into the frame of mind behind the request. But he was a thorough patriot and a good business man and consequently had no objection to the removal of St. Anselm's bones.

> You will believe (he wrote to the Dean of the Cathedral) I have no great scruples on this Head, but if I had I would get rid of them all if the parting with the rotten Remains of a Rebel to his King, a Slave to the Popedom and an Enemy to the married Clergy would purchase Ease and Indulgence to one living Protestant.

Indeed, the request opened up a fine commercial prospect "it is believed," wrote this Vicar of Christ.

> that a condescension in this Business may facilitate the way of doing it to thousands. I think it worth the experiment, and really for this End I should make no Conscience of palming on the Simpletons any other old Bishop with the name Anselm.

One recalls this correspondence when standing in the little chapel under the altar of which St. Anselm's remains are said to be buried.

To students of philosophy and theology the best known work of St. Anselm is perhaps his Ontological Argument for the Existence of God. He needed no argument to convince himself, but he strove to find a single argument which might prove convincing to those in doubt. The problem haunted him. It interfered with his sleep, it caused him to forget to eat, it even intruded upon his prayers. He tried to put the project away from him as a possible temptation of the Evil One. The essence of the argument came to him suddenly while he was striving to put it out of his mind. He rapidly noted it down on the wax tablet he carried at his side and entrusted it to a brother monk. The monk promptly lost it. There are people like that, even among monks. Anselm managed to recover the central idea and this time a monk was instructed to use care. He concealed the wax tablet in his mattress only to

find it later scattered in bits along the corridor. But Anselm did not give up. From these bits, pieced together, the argument was reconstructed and written on parchment. In this formulation it has come down to us. Quoted in numerous histories of philosophy, it is found, with much else, in the convenient little book, *The Devotions of Saint Anselm,* edited by Clement C. J. Webb, Chapter II of the *Proslogion.* The nub of the argument is that since the thought of God is the thought of a being than which no greater can be conceived, the thought of God proves his existence; otherwise it would be possible to think of a being greater than which a greater cannot be thought, which is impossible. Anselm lived at a time when logical consistency was a test of reality; not in our day, when men are more impressed by the report of the senses than by the report of the mind.

The outlook of mankind has changed in another respect. We have moved far away from the general world-pattern of St. Anselm's time. This is neatly presented in his Meditations:

"Imagine to thyself a valley deep and dark and all manner of torments in the bottom thereof. Suppose moreover a bridge cast across this valley, exceeding long but of no more than a foot's breadth. Let a man be compelled to pass over this bridge, so straight, so high, so perilous; let his eyes be blindfolded that he cannot see his steps; let his hands be bound behind him, so that he cannot guide himself by gropng his way with a staff. How great would be the fear and distress of mind in such a one! Dost thou think there would be place in his thoughts for cheerfulness, for merriment, for wantonness? I trow not.

But now consider the signification of this image and let a godly fear and trembling take hold upon thy mind. By the deep and dark valley is signified hell, which is an abyss immeasurable, and terrible with the shadows of most black darkness. . . The perilous bridge, from which whosoever maketh not his passage over it aright is hurled downward, is this present life; wherein whosoever liveth ill, descendeth to hell. The planks which are withdrawn when the traveller hath passed over them are the days of our own life; which pass away never to return, but by growing fewer press us onwards toward our end. . . We ourselves are the travellers that pass over. . .

We may say of St. Anselm what Lytton Strachey said of Cardinal Newman. He was "an artist who has embalmed the poignant history of an intensely human spirit in the magical spice of words." And if the passing centuries have changed our conception of man and the world and the life of the spirit, the great enterprise in which he was engaged—the realization of fervent loyalty to a life of aspiration united with a life of understanding—was never more timely than today. He had no doubt where his need might be supplied. We are in grave doubt. But if we belong to those who still search for the better way of life we recognize that in the terms of his age he was a heroic leader in the project of winning for mankind generally the opportunity to attain the best that life can afford.

M. C. Otto.

University of Wisconsin.

The Study Table

Reviews by Robert C. Schaller

One of the World's Greatest Men

In the roster of Asiatic conquerors elected by the West for oblivion, after Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, and Baber, Shah Akbar stands pre-eminent. A great general, a great statesman, a great personality, in every sense of the word, a great *man*—he has stood with his ancestors in the shadows while madcap harlequins like Alexander and petty provincial governors such as Caesar receive the plaudits of mankind. Even so, the purple of Akbar's panoply has drawn irresistibly the pens of the romancers: and in Tracy's "Great Mogul," he looms in passable likeness. But, until recently, no satisfactory biography of him has appeared.

That deficit in English literature is amply filled by Sir Laurence Binyon's book,* which, brief but to the point, poetically recreates both the colossal stage of action and the great protagonist himself. His orphaned boyhood; his cyclopean struggles which raised him from the son of a fugitive emperor to the lordship of India; his generous justice as ruler of that alien empire; and the magnificence of his reign, rivalling Elizabethan England—all this, majestic as one of Marlowe's mighty dramas, is enacted with the martial pageantry appropriate; trumpets, chariots, marching hosts, chained kings, blazing cities. Throughout this stupendous story we never for an instant lose sight of the central figure: his every act becomes almost as real and understandable as our own. He whom Wells called "one of the hinges of history," the peer of Constantine and Charlemagne, has at last been dramatized in a setting worthy of his stature; and, at the close of the spectacle, it is with regret that we take leave of Akbar, whose complex character, epitomized in Sir Binyon's prologue, "despite its insatiable energy, seeks justice and desires gentleness."

*"Akbar." By Sir Laurence Binyon. Published by Appleton. $2.00.

"Voltaire"

M. Maurois, whose touch is as light as it is often meretricious, skims with equal airiness the eighteenth century in a verbal vignette of its most perfect prototype. Less flippant than in "Ariel" or "Disraeli," he sketches in this book† a miniature background of accumulated despotism and decay, tinged with the tarnished brilliance of the ancient regime, over which his silhouettes pirouette in piquant pantomime. Master of this mimic host is the provoking Voltaire; and his sprightly prestissimo across those gossamer grandeurs is adroitly arranged—the other puppets being deftly moved so as to set off his magic march through comedy, tragedy, history, epic, philippic, the Hague, London, Cirey, Sans Souci, Ferney, to the coronation at Paris and apotheosis. Perhaps the most tittillating episode is his sojourn at Sans Souci with the lean-faced, elegant little king of Prussia: a comic piece matching Moliere.

But the whole charade is always amusing and witty, with such an attendant cast as the Regent, Louis XV, Pompadour, Maurepas, Madame du Chatelet, Swift, Frederick II, Diderot, d'Alembert, Montesquieu, it never trembles on the edge of boredom. Rapidly though it proceeds, it displays deliciously an epoch as well as a personality; and, in closing, it presents us to M. de Voltaire with a grace and address rivalling his own.

†"Voltaire." By Andre Maurois. Published by Appleton, 1932. $2.00.

Correspondence

A Report from Germany

[Extract from a Private Letter]

Dear ———

. . . Political conditions here are in a frightful mess. The German Republic, with the assistance of the monarchists, has been overthrown. . . every day murder and brutality are assuming greater proportions. With the destruction of the democratic regime, the best human elements have become completely silenced. . . At present, pacifists are being beaten and imprisoned. Literature of that kind too is being condemned. Until this nightmare is over, Germany is no place for you. Dark and dangerous times are in store for this country. With the pretext that Communism must be destroyed, all democratic parties and opinions are being persecuted. The freedom of the press has been abolished, so that Germans are entirely ignorant of the true state of affairs. Democracy is called "Weltpest.". .

A great propaganda is being organized. Delegates are to be assigned to all countries, mainly for the edification of the United States, owing to the large number of Germans residing there. . .

Munich, Germany. M. B.

Silver Coinage

Editor of UNITY:

Your editorial (February 27) in which you assign to silver coinage the same potentialities for injurious inflation as exist in paper money, is not surprising, as it expresses a view that is widely prevalent in the Eastern States. Yet I wonder if it is not founded on a misapprehension of the facts. I am sure that UNITY wishes to present the different aspects of public questions with the greatest possible accuracy; and I desire therefore to give some statistical facts taken chiefly from the latest Report of the Director of the Mint.

The general belief is that if silver were coined freely at the sixteen to one ratio all our gold would go abroad in exchange for silver which other nations would be glad to unload upon us at 30 cts. an ounce. Please note that we have now over four billion dollars of monetary gold and that this would buy at present prices an amount of silver that would coin into sixteen billion silver dollars. Where would all this silver come from?

Canada, Mexico, the Central and South American states altogether have some $200,000,000 of silver coin in their banks and treasuries, and European countries $800,000,000. The United States could buy all of this at present bullion prices and have about 94 per cent of its gold left. But much of this is subsidiary coin, used for "change," and could not well be spared. It could not well be spared even if silver should rise in price to a parity with gold.

But what of India and China? It is true that the British Government of India recently sold much of its treasury silver. But the people of India and China are so attached to the metal by tradition and centuries of use that no trustworthy authority, so far as I am aware, has contended that we should be flooded with silver from these sources. So good a monometallist as Prof. J. Laurence Laughlin wrote in the Journal of Political Economy after the demonetization of India silver: "The public of India will continue to use the rupee exactly as in the past," and "silver will continue to be imported in response to the desire for ornament and hoarding." And this has proven true in years of peace and prosperity. In the six years following demonetization in 1893, India absorbed $146,000,000 additional silver.

Silver wares are pointed to as another source of the metal; but these as a rule could not be profitably turned into coin owing to their enhanced value due to the work put upon them. Wares made of low-priced silver would advance in value as the price of silver advanced.

The only remaining source of silver is in the annual production of the mines, amounting at present to $338,000,000 coining value. Formerly under bimetallism about one-half the yearly production went into the arts. Now the arts absorb the larger part, and there is no reason to expect that this use will be greatly curtailed. It will be seen that there is not in the present annual production any prospect that silver would displace our immense stock of gold.

There are those, however, who believe that silver production would be enormously increased by a rise in its price. The history of the metal does not sustain that view. Under the high average price of $1.07 per ounce realized during 1880-88, silver production increased only 45 per cent, while gold production in a similar period, 1890-98, increased 142 per cent. Going farther back, the average annual production of gold, according to Sootbeer's estimates, increased from $13,000,000 in 1830-40 to $130,000,000 in 1850-60, a rise of 900 per cent; but in no like period for three centuries has silver production increased more than 150 per cent.

So far as the history of the production of the two metals throws light on the question, silver would apparently furnish a more stable standard of value than gold. But neither taken alone would be as satisfactory as the two when tied together in the bimetallic system. Under this system, whichever of the two metals was produced more plentifully would be used for monetary reserves and the other would tend to disappear from use as money for the time being; but this greater use of the more plentiful metal and the lessened use of the scarcer one would keep the values of the two together, and thus they would furnish a more stable money standard than either metal if used alone.

There is at this time a widespread demand for some means of securing a higher price level. I have advocated bimetallism, believing it to be an infinitely safer method than paper money inflation. Even if the United States and hard-headed England could safely employ irredeemable paper money, it would seem wise to set weaker governments the example of a money system based on the precious metals.

F. S. KINDER.

Denver, Colo.

The Hitler Horror

[I]

Editor of UNITY:

May I not be permitted a word in commendation of the striking editorial on Hitler which you contribute to the current UNITY?

This appeals to me as one of the most earnest and vigorous pleas I have yet read on this agonizing topic, and will do much to spread the general realization of the horror of the present German attack upon one element of the German people. As one of the many thousands who have been appalled by the assault on what I regard as the roots of civilization itself (if civilization be regarded as the cultured intercommunion of man with man), I wish that voices such as yours were more frequently and more widely heard!

STANLEY A. COBLENTZ.

New York, N. Y.

[II]

Editor of UNITY:

We have been reading many fine utterances on the Hitler tyranny, but none that can in any way compare with your eloquent and immensely stirring editorial—heading a very stimulating issue which we have devoured eagerly. . . .

LUCIA TRENT CHEYNEY.

Clifton Heights, Penn.

Is Roosevelt a Dictator?

Editor of UNITY:

There is considerable criticism appearing in liberal quarters of President Roosevelt on the ground that he has assumed a dictatorship. By the farthest stretch of my imagination we cannot conceive of Mr. Roosevelt, duly elected President of the United States, as dictator. In the last analysis he has no power which has not been freely granted unto him both by the people and by congress. It is obvious that our political democratic machinery has utterly failed to operate in this crisis. Would Mr. Roosevelt's critics want that we should go on in an interminable debate, either getting nowhere or ending in a series of compromises that are utterly meaningless? Mr. Roosevelt has power, and can only hold power because he is doing in a large way what a great majority of the people want him to do. The same people who criticize Mr. Roosevelt criticized Mr. Hoover for not acting. The President and his advisers recognize that action of some sort must be taken to avert a terrific calamity. The delegation of the power for action to a group of men, or even one man, is not a denial of the fundamental principles of Democracy. ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

Lincoln, Nebraska.

The Field

(*Continued from page* 134)

tendom as long as Christianity perpetuates and in very large part deliberately perpetuates the story of the Christ-killing Jew. I am not unmindful of the truth that much of anti-Jewish hatred is racial or anti-racial rather than religious in origin and content. None the less, it is true that there will be no end of the crucifixion of the Jew as long as Christendom rests itself not upon the Jewish teachings of Jesus the Jew but upon the crucifixion of the Christ by the Jewish people. I turn to Christendom that is Christian and not Christless, I turn to Christendom that would in truth be deeply and truly Christian, and I beseech Christendom to end the deadly teaching of the Christkilling Jew on this nineteenth anniversary of the death of Jesus in the word of the holy year ceremony, 'Open the gates of justice at last to the Jew' and hail the Jew not as Christkiller but as Christbringer, as the Christpeople not the Christslayers, as the brothers and sisters of Jesus the Jew and not as his crucifiers.

"On this day of deliverance of hope and of joy I would not dwell upon the horrors of the life of six hundred thousand Jews in Germany. They are a people crucified and crucifixion is not too strong and terrible a term. They are regarded, they are dealt with as if they were vermin and parasites, to use the noble language of their Nazi oppressors. And now they are to be shut out from schools, from the professions in which they have greatly served. In a word, they are to be reduced to the status of despised and accursed aliens after having lived and served in Germany for a thousand years and more.

"Judas was or may have been one traitor in a company of twelve faithful and deathless Jewish comrades and disciples of Jesus. Where are they who are faithful to Christianity, to the death as these eleven Jews were faithful to their master? The spectacle of nineteen hundred years ago is in a very real sense less tragic than the spectacle of this Easter Passover. For these who crucify a people still invoke his name while they betray him, while they despise him, while they crucify him and his people anew."

(Rabbi) Stephen S. Wise.

Methodists on the Social Situation

The Social Service Commission of the New York Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted on April 3rd last the following statement:

"As followers of Jesus Christ, we are faced with the conflict between His ideals and our prevalent paganism. Our present debacle, in which millions are impoverished in the midst of plenty, marks our existing economic order as the supreme paganism of our day. We now know that the kingdom of God cannot be built upon the poverty of the many and the absurd and cruel wealth of the few. It daily becomes more apparent that people have been used for gain, when gain should have been used for people. Property rights have pushed aside human rights. Financial values have taken precedence over human values. This has resulted in such an uncontrolled orgy of production unrelated to consumption needs that our economic system is in a state of collapse.

"That society be planned primarily for the welfare of human beings is economically and morally sound. We face the old problem of transforming the world while living in it. Any society that cannot contrive to provide at least a minimum standard of decency for all its members stands self-condemned. It is our conviction that industry based solely upon the profit motive is doomed. The least definition with which the Christian conscience can be satisfied is that society is an organized cooperation for providing the largest possible measure of life for the greatest number. The present system, which permits private hands to manipulate for profit the processes which are vital to the economic well-being of all our people, must be set aside or so fundamentally changed that the chief end of our economic activity shall be to meet the needs of all."

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Unity subscribers and friends are asked to sign this Petition and send to Women's International League, 6 Byron St., Boston, Mass., before May 20th.

PETITION
TO
THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

WHILE MILLIONS OF PEOPLE ARE HUNGRY AND HOMELESS, AND THE FUTURE OF CHILDREN IS DARKENED BY WANT AND LACK OF OPPORTUNITY, THE UNITED STATES IS SPENDING NEARLY $2,000,000 A DAY FOR MILITARY AND NAVAL PURPOSES. THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD STAND PLEDGED BY THE KELLOGG PACT TO RENOUNCE WAR AND SETTLE DISPUTES BY PEACEFUL MEANS, YET GOVERNMENTS FACING ECONOMIC CHAOS SPEND VAST SUMS ON ARMAMENTS AND PREPARATION FOR WAR.

WE, THE UNDERSIGNED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES, PROTEST AGAINST CONTINUANCE OF THIS RUINOUS COURSE.

WE CALL UPON YOU, MR. PRESIDENT, TO SECURE IMMEDIATE ACTION BY CONGRESS FOR A DRASTIC CUT IN MILITARY AND NAVAL COSTS, THUS RELEASING MONEY FOR RELIEF AND GENERAL WELFARE.

WE CALL UPON YOU TO USE ALL YOUR POWER TO SECURE INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS FOR UNIVERSAL TOTAL DISARMAMENT, THUS CARRYING OUT THE SPIRIT OF THE KELLOGG PACT.

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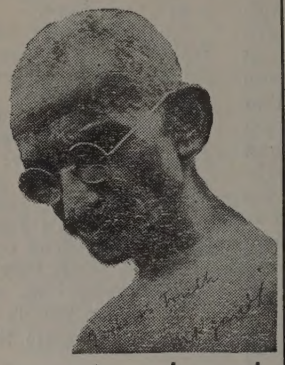
GANDHI
versus
THE EMPIRE
By Haridas T. Muzumdar



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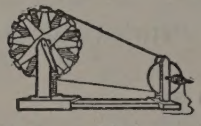

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